

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave Blank)	2. REPORT DATE May 1983	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Final		
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Annotated Bibliography: Open Sources on Africa			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) LaVerle Berry, Kate Bullard, Rita Byrnes, Eunice Charles, Steven Cranton, Nancy Drexler, William Eaton, Naomi Greer, Robert Handloff, Mary Louis Harmon, Greta Holtz, Linda Lau, T. Robert Lenaghan, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, Patricia Rigsbee, Rachel Warner				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Federal Research Division Library of Congress Washington, DC 20540-4840			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A			10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES Prepared under an Interagency Agreement				
12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words) An annotated bibliography of open sources received. Entries on strategic military, political, and economic topics are included. Published monthly until September 1984 and quarterly thereafter.  <b>DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 4</b>				
14. SUBJECT TERMS  Africa--Sub-Sahara      Government Military affairs      Politics Economy			15. NUMBER OF PAGES Various lengths	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT SAR	

19960826 150

**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA**

May 1983

Prepared by the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress  
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## PREFACE

This bibliography is culled from a variety of unclassified periodicals, scholarly journals, and books received during the previous month. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are slightly dated. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from month to month. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of the state of the art and of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA  
(Received in April 1983)

AFRICA GENERAL

Clarke, John I. and Kosinski, Leszek A., eds. Redistribution of Population in Africa. London: Heinemann, 1982, 212 pp.

Contains 27 short essays, covering North and Sub-Saharan Africa, grouped under four headings: general overview, national overview, rural and urban redistribution, and resettlement schemes and redistribution policies. Its strength is its treatment of many different areas, touching on such topics as refugees, ethnicity, and border problems, and its plentiful graphs and maps. Its main weaknesses are its reliance on esoteric demographic terminology, and its dated material--most of it no more recent than 1975. Also, lusophone Africa seems to have been slighted.

Modola, Pino G. "Today's Ground Support Aircraft." African Defence, March 1983, pp. 54-57.

Although half of the article concerns the general function of aircraft as support for ground forces, much information directly related to Africa is included. Specific information on suppliers and kind of craft and African nations possessing aircraft are discussed. The author observes that the numbers and percentages of Soviet-built aircraft are declining in Sub-Saharan Africa.

"SADCC: Roadshow Without Cast." Africa Confidential, 19 January 1983, pp. 1-3.

A critical look at the many problems faced by the newly organized SADCC. Despite the overall appearance of SADCC member solidarity in the face of South Africa's regional "destabilization" policy, there are numerous intra-member disagreements that could undermine the SADCC, including Malawi's close relations with South Africa, Botswana's "alleged support for ZIPRA guerrillas from Zimbabwe," Swaziland's near acceptance of a territorial settlement with South Africa last year, continuing poor relations between Malawi and Mozambique, and some difficulty in agreeing on an oil line tariff between Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The author points out that the SADCC has not met many of its set goals, and its plans have an "almost inbuilt cost overrun" problem. There still is hope for greater and successful regional cooperation, but the SADCC has many serious problems to face.

Sandbrook, Richard. "Is There Hope for Africa?" International Perspectives, January/February 1983, pp. 3-8.

Sandbrook outlines Sub-Saharan Africa's dismal current economic situation and prospects for the future. Virtually no per capita income growth is expected in the 1980s, even under the more optimistic assumptions. The prevailing socio-economic conditions also virtually preclude democratic government and political stability. The Brandt Commission approach to Third

World problems cannot be a solution because the West is unwilling to restructure the international economic order. Sandbrook believes there is hope for Africa, however. African nations must make fundamental changes in the direction of their national development strategies and work toward collective self-reliance.

Shaw, Timothy M., and Chazan, Naomi. "The Limits of Leadership: Africa in Contemporary World Politics." International Journal, Autumn 1982, pp. 543-54.

Traces the limits placed on African leaders over three decades as African countries moved from independence to becoming as diverse and divergent as they are today. Leadership as it relates to three periods of transition and the elements which characterize each period is discussed.

"Uneasy Co-Existence." Africa, December 1982, pp. 31-30.

Despite strong opposition to apartheid, economic and political considerations have forced many southern African states reluctantly to accept co-existence with South Africa. Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland are more or less appendages of South Africa's economy. Economic woes have forced the Lusaka government to continue trading with South Africa. Domestic and economic troubles have prevented the Mugabe regime from breaking ties with Pretoria. The author does not foresee changes in this situation for the immediate future.

#### BOTSWANA

"Le Botswana et les Problemes Geopolitiques de l'Afrique Australe (Botswana and the Geopolitical Problems of Southern Africa)." Afrique Contemporaine, no. 125 (January-February-March 1983), pp. 51-53.

A comparative analysis of Botswana's role in southern Africa (defined as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and South Africa). Unlike Lesotho, Botswana was created in a peaceful manner, and has no liberation movement threatening it from outside the country. Incursions from South Africa are more likely to occur in either Lesotho or Swaziland rather than in Botswana. All three states are dominated and tied closely to South Africa's immense economy. The author concludes that although Botswana has enjoyed relative prosperity and peace since independence, it is unlikely that it will escape the massive whirlwinds that will erupt throughout the region unless South Africa faces up to the problems and dangers of apartheid and the potential for revolution.

Laishley, Roy. "Botswana Moves Cautiously Away From Austerity." Africa Economic Digest, 11 February 1983, pp. 2-3.

Despite the continuing drought in southern Africa and the depression in the international nickel and copper markets, Botswana's economic outlook is brighter primarily because of expanding diamond production. Although things are better now, the government is moving cautiously to expand the country's economic base.

ETHIOPIA

Henze, Paul B. "History and the Horn." Problems of Communism, January-February 1983, pp. 66-75.

In this review article, Henze laments the lack of good writings on recent events in the Horn of Africa. Of the eight books reviewed, he feels only one, The Falashas, the Forgotten Jews of Ethiopia by David Kessler, is likely to stand the test of time as a work of permanent value. The others "range from incomplete and inadequate to tendentious and deceptive." In reviewing each book, Henze provides less frequently heard ideas and information on the Horn.

Niggli, Peter. "Drole de Guerre in Eritrea (The Phoney War in Eritrea)." Neue Züricher Zeitung (Zurich), 25-26 September 1982, pp. 77-79.

A good summary of Ethiopia's unsuccessful "Red Star" campaign in Eritrea in early 1982. Conditions and morale problems in the Ethiopian armed forces help explain their inability to defeat the far outnumbered EPLF guerrillas. The well-organized and technically competent logistical support systems of the EPLF were also an important factor in explaining the EPLF's survival.

Skurnik, W. A. E. "Continuing Problems in Africa's Horn." Current History, March 1983, pp. 120-23, 137.

Skurnik summarizes important political and military events during 1982 in the Horn and outlines the prevailing economic conditions. Examining US and Soviet activities in the area, he concludes that Soviet influence is increasing, while US activities are declining, demonstrating the United States' tacit agreement that Africa remains Europe's chief responsibility unless US national interests are directly involved.

GABON

Mezgebe, Alem. "Gabon: Omar Bongo's Velvet Fist in An Iron Glove." New African, October 1982, pp. 20-21.

Corruption, nepotism, extravagance, and eccentricity characterize the Bongo regime. There is evidence of a growing challenge to Bongo's 15-year regime, especially from the underground Movement for National Recovery (MORENA), which has the support of students and faculty at Omar Bongo University in Libreville, and stresses the need for a multi-party system. Bongo has responded by using strong-arm tactics, arresting prominent officials as well as journalists and technocrats. Workers in Gabon's thriving key oil industry have called strikes to demand wage increases while Bongo flaunts his own wealth. Although French-Gabonese relations have been strained since the advent of Mitterrand's Socialist Government, the French military and economic presence is criticized by many Gabonese who claim that it is a constant reminder of neocolonial control.

GHANA

Brittain, Victoria. "Rawlings' Ghana - Dawn or Disaster?" New African, February 1983, pp. 14-17.

The cover story includes three short articles which discuss the events of Ghana after the return to power of Jerry Rawlings and the organizing of countrywide Defence Committees. Included are a description of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) and the support it receives, the murder of the three judges last year and the subsequent investigation, and the resignations from the PNDC and its effect.

"Ghana: La Revolution En Panne (Ghana: The Brokendown Revolution)." Jeune Afrique, 30 March 1983, pp. 32-36.

A series of critiques of Ghana and its current political and economic condition. The promises of Captain Rawlings' revolution have not been fulfilled and disillusionment is widespread. Forces opposed to Rawlings' government are grouping. Cuban and Libyan support is assured but Ghana is estranged from its immediate neighbors. Yesterdays paradise has become a nightmare.

"Judicial Challenge." West Africa, 21 February 1983, pp. 487-89.

A brief interview with the Chief Justice of Ghana, Mr. Justice F. K. Apaloo, who describes the effects of the Ghanaian revolution on the functioning of the law courts in the military regime.

Kraus, Jon. "Revolution and the Military in Ghana." Current History, March 1983, pp. 115-19.

The reader is provided with an in-depth description of the changes which have taken place in Ghana under military rule. It gives a brief historical outline to provide the reader with insight to understand the present political situation under the rule of the Provisional National Defence Council led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, and analyzes the current status of the revolution in economic and political terms.

KENYA

"Not An Ethnic-Affair." Africa Now, September 1982, pp. 16-19.

The involvement of various ethnic groups in the 1 August 1982 coup attempt is examined. The conclusion is that the coup organizers had political motivations which transcended ethnic confines and that they were united by economic considerations.

Stamp, Patricia. "Kenya's Year of Discontent." Current History, March 1983, pp. 102-5, 126-27.

An examination of the causes of increasingly vociferous discontent in Kenya. Stamp believes the country's recent problems are the result of a sharpening of several long-standing political and economic contradictions. The middle

classes are the principal challenge to the regime; at the same time they are its chief political, social, and economic support. The August coup attempt should not be considered a political disaster as there was no powerful organization behind it.

#### LIBERIA

Momoh, Eddie. "Liberia: Three Year's Military Rule." West Africa, 11 April 1983, pp. 876-77.

Examines the progress of Liberia through the three years of military rule under the regime of Head of State Dr. Samuel Doe and his proposed return to civilian rule. The author gives a brief synopsis of the country's international relations during this period.

#### MADAGASCAR

Ramaro, Elie. "Des Peuples, Un Ocean et des Armes (Several Peoples, An Ocean, and Arms)." Afrique-Asie, 28 February 1983, pp. 71-74.

The question of security in the Indian Ocean preoccupies the nonaligned countries. The Indian Ocean has the strongest concentration of military flotillas ever recorded in history, and the risks of a general nuclear war are of grave concern to the coastal countries which have decided to take action. This article examines the American and French military presences in particular.

#### MOZAMBIQUE

Hanlon, Joseph. "FRELIMO Gets Tough." New African, March 1983, pp. 31-32.

Increased attacks by the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) have caused FRELIMO to radically alter some of its policies; officials have met with South Africans and Americans, and public executions have taken place. In December and January, the red carpet was extended to Zimbabwean President Banana, a high level Soviet military delegation, Cuban Vice President Bosque, and Ethiopian President Mengistu, as FRELIMO was clearly trying to find out how much more military help would be available. President Machel feels that Western powers and the United Nations could pressure South Africa to deescalate the war between the MNR and the Mozambican Government.

"Mozambique: A Waning MNR?" Africa Confidential, 30 March 1983, pp. 3-6.

About a third of Mozambique remains affected by the war against the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR), but FRELIMO officials agree that the situation is under control. Two developments appear to have precipitated the MNR's collapsed offensive last summer. First, actions which began to threaten Malawi's economy resulted in the shutdown of MNR facilities in that country, and second, the Mozambican army captured the main MNR base in Zambezia Province. The December MNR offensive aimed at cutting off Maputo from the rest of the country failed when Mozambican units defeated the MNR guerrillas in a series of battles. The Mozambican army is being trained and



advised by 400 Tanzanians, and 500 to 1,000 Cubans, Soviets, East Germans, Hungarians, and Czechs; some North Koreans are also involved in military training. South Africa appears to have decreased its involvement after world attention was focused on its role with the MNR.

NAMIBIA

"Koakoland." Paratus (South Africa), December 1982, pp. 17-21.

A series of short articles extolling the SADF presence in Koakoland, an isolated and thinly populated district in extreme northwestern Namibia. The SADF launched Operation Super from Koakoland against SWAPO bases in southern Angola. One article deals with a visit made to the SADF base in the area; the SADF force consists of the Regiment De Wet of Kroonstad and the 17 Maintenance Unit from Pretoria.

A Trust Betrayed: Namibia. New York: Office of Public Information, United Nations, 42 pp.

A detailed history of Namibia from the German colonial era to today. Particular attention is given to official international court decisions as well as various official South African statements concerning the status of Namibia.

NIGER

Latremoliere, Jacques. "La Crise Financiere du Niger (The Financial Crisis in Niger)." Marches Tropicaux et Meditteraneens, no. 1943, 4 February 1983, pp. 253-55.

A current assessment of Niger's sorry financial state due to the fall of demand and price for uranium and overinvestment in infrastructure. The high cost of technically sophisticated development is severely criticized since benefits seem unable to be sustained and drain the meager resources of a developing country.

NIGERIA

Attah, Dele. "Ojukwu in NPN: Hopes of Upsets in 1983." Afriscope, December 1982, pp. 15-17.

Discusses the return of Chief Emeka Ojukwu to Nigerian politics and questions the role he will play as the leader of the Igbo ethnic group. The author states that Ojukwu's involvement will affect the whole of Nigeria's political system.

Barret, Lindsay. "Nigeria's Ultimate Weapon." West Africa, 7 February 1983, pp. 342-44.

Discussion of the intense literacy campaign being undertaken in the Nigerian Armed Forces. Given the high technology of modern military equipment, the author stresses the importance of educational developments in the army.

Courtney-Fitch, Bruce. "Abuja Means More Than Many Think." African Construction, December/January 1983, pp. 11-13.

A first-hand account of the work being done to complete the construction of Nigeria's new federal capital, Abuja. The author gives details of his recent visit to the city in the making and explains the role the new capital will play.

Matatu, Godwin. "Multitudes Move From Nigeria." Africa, February 1983, pp. 10-19.

The author examines the expulsion of illegal aliens from Nigeria in January 1983, and the impact of the return of nationals to Ghana, Niger, Chad, etc. He also looks at the membership and structure of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the effect the expulsion order will have on the protocol of free movement among the member states.

"Nigeria Builds For The Future." New African, April 1983, pp. 45-67.

This special survey article spotlights Nigeria's building and construction program as the country becomes one of Africa's leading industrial economies. Steel, roads, water development, electrification, housing, and industrial relations are some of the topics discussed.

#### RWANDA

"The Shadow of Malthus Over a Genuine Hope of Economic Progress." The Courier (Brussels), March/April 1982, pp. 25-40.

In this lengthy article, Rwanda's economic and agricultural development is discussed in detail. The country faces serious problems because of the shortage of arable land, the rapid growth in population, and the fact that it is landlocked. A major reform of education has been undertaken to deal with these problems. President Habyarimana, in power for 8 years, is interviewed.

#### SENEGAL

Cruise O'Brien, Donal B. "Senegal's Elections: What Went Wrong." West Africa, 21 March 1983, pp. 714-15.

The overwhelming victory of President Diouf has been tempered by widespread claims of fraud. Diouf, who had wanted the elections to be a mandate for renewal of the Socialist Party, instead is faced with confirmation of irregularities of party "barons" who want a continuation of old practices. The elections were remarkably democratic for Africa and give a glimmer of hope for the future.

Diallo, Siradiou. "Senegal: Les Fradeurs Vont-ils Payer? (Senegal: Will the Frauds Be Punished)?" Jeune Afrique, 20 March 1983, pp. 28-29.

President Diouf's candid admission that election irregularities took place won the confidence of the people, yet created problems since he probably will

have to sanction the election results and let the offenders go unpunished. Senegal's reputation as a rare African nation which respects laws may also be compromised if its Supreme Court affirms the election results.

Sonko, Captain Ibrahim. "Ndiambour III." African Defence, March 1983, pp. 46-47.

An assessment of the joint Franco-Senegalese military maneuvers of 29 November-4 December 1982 which includes information on political and military personalities. Impressive photos accompany the written text.

#### SOUTH AFRICA

"G-5 & G-6: South Africa Does It (Almost) By Itself." Military Technology, January 1983, pp. 10-12, 14, and 16-17.

A detailed article discussing the development of the South African G-5 gun/howitzer and its G-6 self-propelled version. Subdivisions of the article discuss the ammunition, "main technical data," and "main technical characteristics." Includes numerous photos, diagrams, and charts.

Grundy, Kenneth W. "South Africa's Domestic Strategy." Current History, March 1983, pp. 110-14.

In this concise article on South Africa's internal problems and proposed resolutions, the author outlines the constitutional and institutional reforms proposed by the Nationalist Party now in power. The article discusses the attitudes of the various ethnic groups in South Africa and their response to Prime Minister Botha's military and political initiatives within the context of South Africa's "total strategy."

"Mountain Rescues: SAAF Knows The Ropes!" Paratus (South Africa), December 1982, pp. 44-45.

The 15th Squadron at Durban Air Force Base is responsible for carrying out search and rescue operations for missing or injured climbers in the Drakensberg Mountains. Periodically, the SAAF stages practice drills in conjunction with the South African Mountain Club. The article contains two photos of SAAF men and equipment in action.

"SAS Simonsberg--'Alma Mater' to Most in the SA Navy." Paratus (South Africa), December 1982, pp. 12-13.

An overview of the SAS Simonsberg, the Navy's specialist shore-based training establishment in Simonstown. Virtually all members of the SA Navy have attended courses here. The article contains a brief description of the 18 schools that make up the training base, including the Diving School; the Nuclear, Biological, Chemical Defense and Damage Control School; the Administration, Finance, Supply, Language, and Management Schools; the Hydrographic School; the Navigation, Seamanship, Signal, Torpedo Antisubmarine, Tactical, and Gunnery Schools; the Catering School; and the Physical Training Instructor's School.

Schaap, Bill. "The CIA and BOSS." Covert Action (Washington, DC), no. 18 (Winter 1983), pp. 52-54.

Mr. Schaap, co-editor of Covert Action, addressed the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations in November 1982 on "the long history of collaboration between the US and South African secret services." In sum, Mr. Schaap states: "It is my contention that the apartheid regime in South Africa has been encouraged and supported by the United States intelligence complex for decades."

"Ten Years of Staff Training in the SAN." Paratus (South Africa), December 1982, pp. 48-49.

An overview of the 23-week Naval Command and Staff Course held at the Naval Staff College in Muizenberg, near Cape Town. Since its inception in December 1972, the Course has graduated 172 South African Naval Officers and 47 other South African and foreign officers. The author briefly outline the Course's four modules: Communication, Military Management and Leadership, Strategic Studies, and Warfare and Operations.

#### SWAZILAND

"Swaziland Survey." African Business, August 1982, pp. 63, 65, and 67-70.

A collection of seven articles on various economic and political aspects of Swaziland. Although Swaziland is the smallest state in southern Africa, it has one of the area's most stable economies--albeit almost totally dependent on South Africa. The various authors discuss agriculture, tourism, communications, etc.

#### ZAMBIA

Hall, Richard. "Kaunda's Juggling Act." New African, March 1983, pp. 29-30.

President Kenneth Kaunda's political musical-chairs, designed to prevent his cabinet members from growing too ambitious, is unparalleled. His latest reshuffle brought back into favor Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) leader Frederick Chiluba, and Prime Minister Malumino Mundi, once jailed for corruption, was given additional responsibility as Minister of Finance at a time when the economy is prostrate. The explanation for all this appears to be that it is a general election year and Kaunda needs to reconcile as many elements as possible to bolster the economy and maintain his popularity. Regardless of all difficulties, Kaunda has no obvious rival.

Langellier, Jean-Pierre. "Lendemain d'Insouciance en Zambie: 1. Maudit Cuivre (The Aftermath of Zambia's Carelessness: 1. The Evils of Copper)." Le Monde, 29 March 1983, pp. 1 and 6.

From independence in 1964 until 1974, Zambia's economy thrived on the country's copper resources. But plunging copper prices in the world market over the next 8 years have brought the Zambia economy to its knees. Other factors

also are responsible for this state of affairs; spare parts for aging mine equipment are unavailable, strikes have cut production from 713,000 tons in 1976 to 591,000 tons in 1982, and cobalt prices have fallen from \$25 to \$5 per pound. The country is also plagued by corruption and nepotism.

Langellier, Jean-Pierre. "Lendemain d'Insouciance en Zambia: 2. Loin de la Brousse (The Aftermath of Zambia's Carelessness: 2. Far From the Brush)." Le Monde, 30 March 1983, p. 5.

Alcoholism is a major problem in Zambia's workforce and is responsible for absenteeism, accidents, poor productivity as well as family quarrels, cancer, and mental problems. There is a sharp division between urban and rural areas; the average urban worker earns an average of 15 times more than the rural worker. As a result, rural farmers either grow only enough to feed themselves or migrate to the cities. Agricultural production began to decline sharply in 1976, causing Zambia to rely increasingly on imports of grain to feed its people. The 1980 10-year economic plan tried to correct this situation, but the last 2 years have brought serious droughts. Despite recent increased efforts by the government to improve agricultural methods, the problem will not be solved until the young people who have deserted their farms return to the land.

#### ZIMBABWE

"Exit Nkomo." Africa News, 14 March 1983, pp. 1-2.

Discusses the ramifications of Nkomo's self-imposed exile on both Zimbabwe's domestic politics and the internal leadership of Nkomo's party, ZAPU. The situation in Matabeleland could worsen if Prime Minister Mugabe tries to eradicate ZAPU insurgent groups now that Nkomo is out of the country. There is also some speculation that ZAPU might replace Nkomo as its leader unless Nkomo returns to Zimbabwe. Meanwhile, Nkomo has accused the Mugabe government of trying to kill him. The situation is an embarrassment for all concerned.

Hanlon, Joseph. "Zimbabwe: Land Reform Hits Snags." Africa News, 17 January 1982, pp. 7-8.

Land reform in Zimbabwe was the government's principle means for redressing the inequities of the former white colonial system. It originally had hoped to resettle 162,000 families within the first 3 years after independence. However, after 2 and one-half years, only 15,000 families have been resettled. This failure is blamed equally on the land purchase terms of the Lancaster House Settlement and on unrealistic and poor planning by the Harare government. The Mugabe administration is coming under considerable pressure to keep its promises. Numerous alternative plans are currently under consideration and the current fiscal year's objective is to settle only 20,000 new families.

"Pretoria's agents?--The Politics of 'Dissidence'." Africa Now, February 1983, pp. 19-20.

The author disagrees with Prime Minister Mugabe's statement that South Africa is to blame for the internal dissidence between ZANU/ZANLA and ZAPU/

ZIPRA forces. Rather, by far the largest number of dissidents are political opponents of the central government who are dissatisfied with the slow pace of change since independence and who see Nkomo and ZAPU as victims of the Harare government. Furthermore, they are unlikely recruits for Pretoria because of their leftwing politics and because ZAPU/ZIPRA has long had close political and military ties to the ANC of South Africa.

"'We Were Kept Worse Than Dogs'--Detention in Matabeleland." Africa Now, February 1983, pp. 18-19.

In addition to the "horror stories" about conditions in Matabeleland, the article pinpoints the major detention camps at Nkayi and Lupane (in Matabeleland), Mushumbi Pools ("in the north"), the old Rhodesian camp at Gonakudzingwa, and two camps at Tsholotsho (northwest of Bulawayo). People reportedly are also detained in prisons throughout Zimbabwe. According to the author, the Task Force that supervises the camps and prisons is made up of former Rhodesian troops, police, and military and civilian intelligence personnel.